1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

and are seldom fatal. Intestinal disorders and skin and eye infections and diseases are common and troublesome in the villages because of poor sanitary facilities and practices. These result, of course, from a general ignorance of the principles of sanitation and the causes of disease. Since the villagers know that these diseases are not usually fatal, they tend to avoid the expense and bother of consulting a doctor or going to a clinic, and the nonfatal illnesses often go untreated. Only the more educated villagers realize the importance of sanitation in preventing illness and are willing to take the trouble to maintain some semblance of sanitary practices.

The village water is commonly drawn from open wells. While the villager knows that drinking water is supposed to be boiled, he is usually satisfied if it comes close to the boiling point, or at best has just begun to boil. In visits to town he will frequently buy a drink from a street stand, and seldom consider whether the water used in the drink has been boiled. Intestinal illnesses are common, although the villagers frequently know enough to avoid serious difficulty.

Clothing is usually washed in the pond across the road which borders the village. The same pond is used by water buffalo for bathing and elimination, and the village storekeeper uses water from it to wash off ice before putting it in drinks or making a flavored shaved-ice refreshment. The village women wash their cooking and eating utensils in this same pond, and no one ever uses hot water and soap for these purposes.

Most villagers' houses are extremely cluttered and, in most cases, quite dirty. Major housecleaning and general cleaning of the village grounds are usually done only twice a year, immediately before the Chinese New Year and before the annual inspection of every house by police and public officials. This inspection was instituted by the Japanese, and has been continued by the local government under the mainlanders. Each house is examined for cleanliness and general neatness and receives a grade of excellent, pass, or fail. If a house fails the inspection, the family is liable to a fine and must remedy the condition.

The village has no running water. Water for household use is drawn from the open wells which are scattered around the village. Although open wells would seem to be a potential hazard for small children, few accidents occur, perhaps because young children are seldom allowed to crawl around on the ground and are usually in the care of an older child or an adult.

The only form of toilet facilities are outhouses, the small outside shelter with a hole in the floor formerly so common in rural America. The cleanliness of these facilities varies with the household. The contents are regularly collected and used to fertilize vegetable crops. This

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
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complete their education and so speak little if any Kuo-yu. Therefore, sometime during the preconscription age of twenty to twenty-two the government requires all males who have not completed primary school to attend special Kuo-Yu classes at the local primary school. The local police see to it that these boys attend the classes by imposing fines on the families of the negligent.

In general, the villagers disapprove of forced military service and deeply resent the conscription of men with families. The service imposes many hardships on the families, since it means a loss of farm labor and actual income. While the government assumes some financial responsibility for the families of such men, the aid is slow in coming, and when it does arrive, it is usually insufficient. Moreover, the soldier's pay is so small that rural families have to send their sons or husbands in the army additional spending money almost every month.

In addition to their concern about the hardships conscription imposes on the families, the villagers also fear for the safety of their sons and husbands. Many of the boys from the area are stationed on the offshore islands of Quemoy and Matsu, rightly considered dangerous places. However, in spite of the many problems, one attitude the villagers express, at least in public, is that "like taxes, military service is every man's duty."

In most instances, before a group of villagers leaves to begin service in the army, several functions are held to "send the men off." The night before the departure a village *pai-pai* is held in which the gods are asked to speed the safe return of the conscripts. Every village family participates, each bringing a basket of sacrifice foods to the court of one of the larger village *tsu* houses. Here a shaman (*ja shih*) performs a ritual, inviting the gods to come and partake of the food offerings. At the conclusion of the ritual, each family takes its own food home and eats it for their evening meal.

That same night before the men leave, a large subscription dinner may be held in honor of the draftees. While every village family participates in the *pai-pai*, many families do not take part in this large dinner. Usually, only families which are friendly with the draftees' families will pay the subscription price and send a representative to attend. The representative may be the family head himself or a young son of sixteen years or more. One or two of the village men who earn extra income as cooks on various occasions prepare this dinner at no charge, and several village men and/or boys volunteer to serve the food. Some of the women usually help in the kitchen. At the dinner there is a good deal of drinking and drinking games, joking, and storytelling. In addition, some of the more respected *tsu* leaders or elected officials make speeches.

The next morning the men are sent off by most of the village. The

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

village orchestra plays amid banners wishing each man luck and a speedy return or general congratulations on going into the army. These banners are sent by *ch'in ch'i* and friends, and the number of banners each man receives is often considered an indication of his family's popularity. The villagers form a procession and accompany the draftees for more than two miles to the *hsiang* Public Office where young men from several villages meet to be taken away to the army camp in government trucks. The departure of men to the army is thus made into a rather grand and colorful occasion. The villagers report that this tradition began during Japanese times, and it bears many similarities to Embree's (1939:195–203) description of such celebrations in Suye Mura.

The two years or so of military service are full of new experiences for many of the village boys, since it is their first opportunity to travel to other parts of Taiwan and come in constant contact with men from other areas of the island as well as mainlanders. But once his term of military service is over, a man usually returns to his earlier occupation and, if he is single, he can expect to have a marriage arranged for him soon after his discharge. The activities of these ex-service men in civilian life are not noticeably different from what they were before military service.

MARRIAGE

Today, in Taiwan the average age for marriage is twenty-four for men and twenty-two for women by Chinese reckoning. Before the 1950's the ages at marriage were two years younger: twenty-two and twenty. The obvious reason for this change is military conscription. Usually, men enter the army when they are twenty-two, and although this is still considered the proper age for a man to marry, families with sons about to be called into service tend to postpone marriage arrangements. In most cases they prefer not to have the son marry, enter the army, and leave the new daughter-in-law behind, since the villagers feel that the son should be present, especially early in a marriage, to establish the wife in habits of good behavior and obedience. In general, while the mother-in-law holds authority over her daughters-in-law, in actuality it is the girl's husband who best enforces this authority. In Hsin Hsing village, for example, there have been cases in which a daughter-in-law disobeyed or was disrespectful to her mother-in-law. In such instances it would be quite unusual for the mother-in-law to attempt to impose her authority by physical means. Instead, she is likely to speak with her son and demand that he force his wife into line. The son uses whatever means he feels necessary—speaking firmly to his wife or, sometimes, even beating her—to make her obey his mother. Parents fear that their inability to control a daughter-in-law

3: Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Peihotien

[Lim Chieng-cua's eldest son] not having to do anything. If Kim-hok was bringing honor to the family with his studies, I wouldn't complain about it, but he isn't studying at all. He plays all day long. When I was in the fifth and sixth year of school, I already had to work or the older generations would be scolding me. It wasn't long before I knew what I had to do, and I could do it without being told. Don't think I didn't prefer to play! But, they made me work and I was afraid not to. Children are all this way. If you don't force them to work, then they don't."

A-bok even relaxed enough to gossip about something that seemed to amuse him. "You know, Masa took a look in the account books at the pharmacy, and he says that Uncle has already taken out NT$800 worth of medicine, all hormones."

When I asked why, A-bok laughed and said, "Well, they say hormones are even better than *ginseng* for making you younger. [I think he meant to imply that Lim Chieng-cua was trying to achieve a longer and more energetic sex life.] Haven't you seen him taking shots all the time? He also drinks milk everyday, but then who in his family doesn't? If you say anything about it though, they always say it is because one or the other of them is sick. Our family hasn't the good fortune to have such bad health."

"You know that last quarrel I had with Uncle? If it had been Masa, he wouldn't have yielded and would have fought [physically] with him. Masa doesn't care . . . There was another thing that made Masa really mad. My aunt took all her children to Tapu one afternoon and somehow my son got away and followed them. She bought candy for all her own children and just let my son stand and watch them eat. Now you think about that. Was this 'proper behavior' or not? When her second and third sons were small, my mother took care of them most of the time. They even slept with her. So how can she act this way to my son now? Mother helps her all the time, even now, but she not only doesn't feel indebted to my mother, she thinks that she *ought* to help her. She thinks she ought to do this just like a servant. I tell my mother not to help her. My aunt never helps us do anything. She raises all those ducks and chickens and when they get old enough she won't kill them to eat, but saves them for her own family to eat as 'medicine.' You can see that we don't have very many chickens and ducks even for the big feast days." This is a source of great shame to A-bok's mother who is embarrassed that their pros-

3: Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Peihotien

perous family puts on a show little better than the poorest village family on religious feast days. Even our assistants felt that the Lims did not live up to the standards expected of them in this regard. "If my mother hadn't raised some turkeys," he continued, "my wife wouldn't even have been able to have the chicken broth when my daughter was born. [This refers to a strongly held belief that a mother must have chicken and chicken broth at least three times a day in the first few days following childbirth.]

"What does this family look like? Who can see it most clearly? I think my grandfather could see it clearest even then. We should have taken some chicken cooked in wine to my wife's family home when my son was a month old. That is the custom—he was the first born and a male besides. We do this to announce our happiness. Uncle was in charge of the money then, and he didn't say a word about it, so my grandfather took his own money and sent someone to Tapu to buy the things for him. The people from my wife's family sent many things back and my grandfather made a special point of showing these things to Uncle. Uncle didn't pay any attention to this. Evidently that made Grandfather very angry and one of our friends came to visit him and found him like that. He said, 'It isn't as though A-bok doesn't work for our family. How can we treat him like this? No matter how poor this family may have become, we are not so poor that we are going to starve to death. It is only because A-bok's father is dead that he has to depend on us to do these things for him. If his father was alive, you can imagine how finely these things would be done!' I didn't know about this until after the friend came and told me. He said my grandfather talked and talked, and all the time the tears rolled down his face. The friend was very worried about my grandfather. He had never cried in his life.

"It was my grandfather who started the factory, not my uncle. When they couldn't make wine in it anymore, it just sat there empty and someone came and asked Grandfather if they could rent it to make paper bags. Grandfather said they could rent it if they would take him in as a partner. This is the way it got started. It wasn't my uncle's doing. My uncle should be teaching the younger generation how to run the factory, but he won't. I think he is afraid to let me or Masa know what goes on there. He thinks that if he doesn't let me know anything about how to run the business, he can take it later without any worries." This was the first time A-bok admitted in my

782 592 [869] [764] [993] one individual performs the act while others observe. There are only two kinds of occasions I observed during the study when there are joint performances: a teaching situation with an older individual and a child performing the same rite; or when hired priests collectively participate in a ceremony such as a funeral. Most worship is by an individual representing his family, nuclear up to extended or compound, and often including deceased members.

For 64 of the 66 Sanlei households, one representative, usually the oldest male in the household, worships in the kung t'ing each morning and evening with incense. There is no ritual gathering to observe the worship. Where more than one household share ownership of the kung t'ing, i.e., in a compound, only one representative for the compound is necessary and usual. On the first and fifteenth or second and sixteenth of each lunar month, worship offerings include special rich food such as many meat and fish dishes and the family usually does gather to observe the worship in 59 of the 66 households.

[621] On the community level, there is worship for the various special holidays, but each household's sacrifice is offered separately and returned to be consumed separately. 527 592 574 There are often parties with guests present on special days but even then the food is kept separate in each household. Only in some compounds with a joint kung

527 592 574 t'ing is food comingled and even there, the practice is relatively rare. I attended one big dinner in a compound kung t'ing of two families. There were two tables with identical menues although food for each was prepared in separate kitchens. I ate part of the meal at each table, oldest brother's first. It was a single party with much joking and drinking games and although wine and cigarettes were passed between tables, the food remained distinct. To have many guests is desirable so that frequently at large affairs, the host is out on the street bringing in guests and he never does sit and eat. Since meals are usually served in courses, one dish at a time, it is possible for a guest to only stay long enough for one or two courses, and thus, be able to visit many different homes in a single evening.

796 632 Beyond the community, only the li and li temple are important in religious activities. The li consists of five villages which have historically cooperated in maintenance of a single temple. On some occasions, sacrifices are brought to the li temple rather than the Sanlei temple but if the li is involved, usually to both. Hired priests and/or entertainment may be at the li temple as well as the village.

796 There is very little joint worship beyond the li and although some holidays are national, Talei Li does not cooperate with others in celebration. The only unit larger

842 neither of which was extremely effective. Recently, there has been much use of "Inter-Uterine Devices" for they prove fairly effective and only a few women experience difficulties with them. Although available at a public health clinic in Hsin Tien, village women prefer a much more expensive private hospital. Women alone decide when they will use an I.U.D. although their husbands may put up a vigorous argument. Only rarely will a woman use the I.U.D. before she has borne three children although if she does decide earlier, no one can do anything about it. Older people, men and women alike, often say the young women are lazy today, they cannot be bothered with many babies. In fact, a major reason for many babies was the high death rate and thus, the necessity for many to assure raising some to maturity, but with the increasing life expectancy and improved diet and health care, the odds of success have significantly changed.

Birthdays

• 527 561 After the first birthday, the next birthday of any importance which is celebrated with a party is the thirtieth although others may be recognized in the family with special food such as an egg. The thirtieth is for a married male with children and given by his wife's parents while the reverse is less frequently provided for a woman by her husband's family. In either case, it is a small party but with rich food. Most birthdays continue unrecognized, but

527 561 when they are celebrated, there is usually greater emphasis for those of a man. After the thirtieth, every tenth year will be celebrated in special ways as a ta sheng jih (big birthday).

561 527 805 886 The first big birthday party is at age 60,[5] called hsia shou (small longevity). As described in Chapter IX, the Chinese calendar has a cycle of 60 years. When one reaches age 60, he has completed an entire cycle and is starting over again so that every year after 60 is considered to be a gift of the gods. At age sixty, a man is expected to turn over control of the family to his sons and live as if on a pension but still contributing limited amounts of labor. Of course, there is often a disparity between chronological age and the level of physiological aging. Some men withdraw happily while others resist, but 527 886 a son should not press a reluctant father very hard. There will be a big sixtieth birthday party with many guests who each present a red envelope gift which contains an even amount of money sufficient to more than pay his share of the cost of the party. Local politicians will send cards of congratulations. A man without grandchildren will not have a big party and there will only be a family affair without many guests for a woman reaching sixty whether she has many grandchildren or not.

888 Old age[6] tends to be a pleasant period of life in the village. The aged have a lot of leisure and yet enjoy

888 great quantities of respect. Rules for behavior are greatly relaxed and many can now do things younger people are not [562] [276] permitted. Old women attend meetings which are normally for males and some smoke for enjoyment only while women under 60 who smoke make an excuse that it is necessary for a par- 888 562 831 661 ticular affliction, "an itchy nose." Old women are the ones who talk "dirty" and act as the village clowns and teasers. Up to age 35, females tend to be extremely shy in 552 public but once past 60, they are the most aggressive. I was sitting in front of the village store in a group one day while four young married girls were washing clothes across the street in a bent-over position. A woman of 80 nudged me and in a loud voice exclaimed, "That girl over there is waving it at you. Go over and stick her!" She and the other old women laughed loudly as several men smiled or snickered but the girls blushed deeply (as I did) and pretended we were not there. When an old woman in a social group clears her throat preparing to speak, others stop talking and listen intently, expecting to be amused.

527 561 888 If the first digit is even for the tenth year birthday, the occasion is more important.[7] The 70th birthday is recognized and has a special name of chung shou (middle longevity). Cards will be sent and there will be a family party but not many guests come. On the other hand, the eightieth birthday, shang shou (high longevity), is the next big occasion, but for males and females alike. In addition to the big party and monetary gifts, cards will

527 561 888 come from all over the island. An interview will be recorded in the local newspaper, the provincial governor and other important officials send small scrolls and even Chiang Kai-shek himself sends a scroll of congratulations which will proudly be displayed on the wall in the kung t'ing.

The 90th, chi shou (senior longevity) is rather an echo of the 70th but will be reported in the newspapers. No one in the village area had been known to reach one hundred but there were hopes for a man over 90 in Erhlei. There was believed to be a special name for the hundredth birthday but no one could recall it although several felt the term had something to do with eating. My questions stimulated much speculation about what gifts and recognition a hundred-year old would receive. One man suggested the gifts would probably include a letter from the head of the United States and several people nodded in agreement.

Recreation

521 The most important form of recreation was conversation which took significant portions of every day, particularly the evenings between dinner and bed-time. Almost any topic was open with gossip about others endemic for everyone knew each other's business. When anyone waited at the bus, every person who passed by asked, "Where are you going? What are you going to do?" When returning on the bus, similar questions were heard, "Where have you been? What did you do?" With a purchase, the question is "What did you buy

805 787 There are similar pairs of two characters specifying the month, day, and hour of one's birth. The eight characters, pa tsu, thereby produced are employed in determining compatibility or incompatibility of persons about to be married,[3] and are also used in fortune-telling. However, most people in the village could not immediately recall their own eight characters although most said they could be figured out.

Calendars

805 178 • 527 There are two important calendars which function simultaneously in the village. The first is the standard Western calendar with which all readers are familiar. It has become more important in the past few years, especially for those employed in modern firms because work schedules and payrolls are based on the Western solar calendar. The only major events in the village area which are determined by this calendar are the national holidays such as Restoration Day, Independence Day, and Chiang Kai-shek's Birthday. Meetings of government agencies and dates for paying taxes are set according to this calendar too.

805 [796] The second calendar, the lunar, is the traditional form and is employed to determine the traditional religious holidays. Individual months are of 29 or 30 days duration, intermixed so that each new moon falls on the first day of a month. Months are simply numbered from one to twelve. Years are of unequal length, having either twelve or

796 The above events serve to break up the year. More-
291 over, the period of the year when the required agricultural activities are at a minimum, from the middle of the twelfth month to the middle of the first, is witness to the most festive period which commences with the last monthly-cycled event of the year and ends with the first monthly-cycled event of the new year (see next section).

527 There are also the national holidays which are sched-
178 uled according to a calendar, but in this case the western
369 calendar. These are not as important in the village as the religious affairs but are growing in importance as time passes and there is a greater degree of urban contact and more individuals start working in factory, business, and mining occupations. Businesses tend to close for the important events and thus, the workers remain home. There are usually parades and decorations in the cities and many of the younger people go off to observe. The major events are Double Tenth (the establishment of the Republic), President Chiang Kai-shek's Birthday, the Birthday of Confucius, and Restoration Day (the return of control over Taiwan to the Republic of China).

The Monthly Religious Cycle

796 In accordance with the lunar calendar, there are two pairs of worship days each month devoted to gods, ancestors, and the Good Brothers which also serve to punctuate the calendar with religious events. One pair falls on the first

796 [178] Sanlei worship on one or the other pair of days regularly. The worship activities on these days do not seriously interfere with the normal work activities but most farmers usually quit work a little early. The family will have a big dinner with rich food although guests are extremely rare. After dinner, there is a longer leisure time in the evening as compared with a normal day and instead of performing any constructive tasks, almost everyone just sits and chats.

The first of the monthly-cycled days of the year (the fifteenth day of the first month) and the last of the monthly-cycled days (the sixteenth day of the twelfth month) are major holidays.

The Weekly Cycle

177 178 527 [805] The growing importance of the week of seven days, Sunday in particular, is strong evidence of Westernization in Taiwan and its penetration into Sanlei Ts'un. There was a traditional ten-day week in China but few living villagers were aware of its details or operation. Almost every villager could quickly name the current day of the week according to the Western calendar when asked. Although there were no Christians in Talei Li according to villagers, Sunday has become a special day with greatly reduced productive work [369] activities. This is related to the fact that many business places are now closed on Sundays so the workers who live in the village stay home while many residents in the city

come to the village to visit. Villagers, in turn, visit relatives who live in the city more often on Sunday than any other day.

There were a number of different factors contributing to the institutionalization of the Western week. The li school, in accordance with national directives, operated full days Monday through Friday and a half day on Saturday with Sunday, a school holiday. Several of the mines were closed on Sunday as were all but one of the factories where villagers were employed. Many of the businesses and stores in town and city were also closed on Sunday. Thus, Sunday has become a day of rest and few farmers now work a full day on Sunday. Except during the busiest season, there are few labor exchanges on Sunday and few farm workers are hired on Sunday. Most farmers who do work on Sunday are only working on their own fields.

Village young people often go off to town on Sunday, to the parks, the theaters, the zoo, and merely to walk around and see things. Where boys do meet girls for the secret dates which would be disapproved by parents and village elders, they are usually arranged for Sunday afternoons when both are most likely to have available leisure time. As previously stated, migrants to the city often come back to the village for visits on Sunday and more recently, villagers are going to the city to visit relatives and friends now living there.

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[288] operations of the cloth and clothing factories around Taipei which require relatively unskilled labor inputs of a nature which can be accomplished by women, again draw on the female labor pool in Talei Li. Together, these various factors function to make female labor valuable and this fact necessarily means a level of relative economic independence for females. Moreover, in terms of agricultural activities alone, the addition of citrus cultivation to tea cultivation has made possible employment for women every month of the entire year since the demands of each have very little overlap. The combination covers the entire year fairly evenly.

The Daily Cycle

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[22] From the above facts, it can be seen that there is no such thing as a typical day in Sanlei Ts'un. There are seasonal differences due to the great differences resulting from the major agricultural activities being performed at
[796] the particular moment in time. There are at least 60 special
[527] religious holidays each year, some relatively minor, when the daily pattern of behavior varies and a few national secular holidays as well with similar varying behavior pat-
[871] terns. Monday through Fridays differ from Saturday which has a half-day of school instead of a full day and even more from Sunday when the school and several factories are closed. A greater number of visitors come to the village on
[871] Sunday and most farmers reduce their work loads. The summer

4:Barnett E-4,5 (1965-1967) 1970 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Sanlei Ts'un

NOTES

Chapter I: Problem and Approach

1 The role of women as portrayed in the traditional literature is abstracted more fully later in this Chapter and in Chapter X.

2 The concept of the "Great Tradition" and the "Little Tradition" are explicated in Redfield (1956).

3 Although the emphasis on the word typical was not in the original presentation, the term was used in the title and the introductory remarks.

4 The concept of "social distance" was developed by Bogardus to measure the degree of closeness or acceptance members of one group feel towards members of other groups (1958; 1959).

5 See Chapter V for a fuller discussion of the nature and function of sworn brothers associations which are perceived as pseudo-kinship groups.

Chapter II: The Setting

1 Although the population figures for Sanlei reflect the actual residence in the village, those for Talei Li are based on registration records in the township office and therefore are inaccurate as will be discussed.

2 "Restoration" is the official term employed to refer to the passing of control from the Japanese to the Chinese and the anniversary date is currently a national holiday celebrated with appropriate rituals.

3 For more complete accounts of the history of Taiwan, any of the following could be consulted: Davidson (1903), Grajdanzev (1942), Riggs (1952), Barclay (1954), Hsieh (1964), Kerr (1965), or Koo (1968).

4 Because of the Communication Bureau and a secret military base in the area, most government information was restricted for security reasons. Although we were not permitted to examine the local histories, an official briefly summarized them for us orally. Similar procedures were in effect for all other data except that we were permitted one day to examine household registration records for our two villages only in the township office and one day, the same for the land registration in the land office. Family histories are not very accurate but because of the shallow depth of the